1: Honigmann E-6 (1943-1945) 1949 MD12 Mahone MD12

All of these conflicts lead to anxiety and derived hostility, which further threaten the self-assertive as well as defensive motivations. These conflicts find expression in the ambivalence characterizing the emotional relations of men and women in Kaska society. Illustrations of this ambivalence will now be studied as it manifests itself in male feelings of superiority, men's and women's attitudes toward marriage, in folklore, and in men's overemphasis on fear for aggression. Because of closer work with men, it is inevitable that the illustrations should primarily reflect male ambivalence to women; on the other hand, it is also possible that a woman's frustrations, because of her greater opportunity to relax from self-assertion, her early training in passivity, and her consequent identification with her father in childhood, are less strong than a man's.

Male feelings of superiority to women are expressed when men generalize from their important economic roles on the one hand to a notion of generally superior status. They are also revealed in Old Man's defensive claim that men can, if necessary, do many feminine tasks, like caring for children, making babiche, being snowshoes, and cutting moccasins. On another occasion, however, Old Man reported that such tasks were only regretfully performed by men and their necessity constituted a hardship. River Jim, too, often complained about a man's difficulties when he lacked a woman to cook and care for the camp. We therefore conclude that Old Man's assessment of male self-sufficiency has little basis in manifest behavior and is an expression of male superiority. It represents an attempt to deny the anxiety provoked by dependence on his wife.

Both sexes reveal ambivalent attitudes toward marriage. In men, holding back is defended on grounds of sexual freedom, while in women it is rationalized as a fear of being economically frustrated or physically overworked. Avoidance of marriage may be interpreted both as a fear of the strong emotions that the bond develops out of the dependency which it involves. The period of premarital promiscuity, as we shall see, affords abundant opportunity to satisfy sexuality without too seriously threatening emotional isolation. Furthermore, sex in this period offers full opportunity to express self-assertion, while marriage, with its burdens of economic responsibilities and child care, threatens to use that motivation in both sexes.

The expression of sexual ambivalence in folklore is illustrated in the story of "The Blind Old Man," selected by Old Man to subordue the anxiety and hostility engendered by his growing dependency.* The theme of the tale, an old man deserted by his wife who withholds food, strongly suggests the husband-wife relationship to be marked by distrust and ambivalence. That the woman is able to deceive her husband, shows her to be perceived in a position of superiority and power, which throws light on the man's intense and conflicted emotional dependence. A second tale reveals a similar theme.

THE GIRL WHO TURNED INTO AN OWL

Two brothers shared a wife and lived with their mother-in-law. One day the girl climbed a tree to reach an owl's nest and was turned into an owl. Her children drifted down to her mother, who deserted them and returned to camp pretending to be the young wife. She placed a roll of bladders in her soup to simulate an old woman asleep. When the boys came home the women fed them, but as she had no teeth she could only eat tripe. To give the sound of chewing, she put a

* For the discussion of Old Man's premarital behavior, pp. 309-318.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

piece of charcoal into her mouth. Occasionally the mother-in-law threw a piece of meat to the "old woman." The brothers became suspicious of the old woman's actions and made her tell what had happened. Then they went to the owl's nest and plundered for their wife to return. But the owl swooped down at them saying: "I'm going to eat you." The brothers became angry and one of them shot the owl with a bow and arrow. The owl failed to die and, referring to the point in its leg, said: "That's going to be my sister."

This story was told by Old Man after he had been talking to Nida about the latter's love of Adele to John. He teased Nida with living as people did in "old fashioned" days and was reminded of this story. The tale again stresses the deceitfulness of women. Although men are dependent on women, they always suffer a residual fear lest they be deceived or overwhelmed (eaten). In a burst of hostility, men fantasy using their strength to kill the ambivalent object. But male self-assertion, symbolized by the arrow, simply strengthens the woman. The closing incident of the tale might also be interpreted with reference to the self-assertion which men unconsciously invest in coitus. The penis, instead of conquering the female has its strength overpowered by the unassailable sexual object. In other words, men fear failure in their sexual relationships.

Female homosexuality and masculine striving are two elements in another folktale.

A TRIBE OF WOMEN

Two brothers, caught on an ice floe, drifted downriver until they reached Fort Liard. One of the boys was young and not smart; the other was already a little smart. They reached land and found a camp in which there were only women. The women fed the brothers. As the youths ate they saw another group of women return to camp with caribou meat. The leading woman in the camp explained that in this country all male children were killed at birth because they didn't want men. Men, they said, hurt women. Here women "husband" each other and in that way conceived children who were painfully born through Caesarian section. The older boy told the women how children were born in the country upriver. Then the younger brother saw the "stick gun," which the women used in hunting. To fire the weapon, the hunter hit the back of an arrow with a stick. The younger brother did not believe that such a weapon was practical, and invited the women to shoot him. The women refused but the boy walked off a distance and insisted that they try. So the women killed the younger brother with the stick gun. The older boy then showed the tribe how to bury the dead in a grave instead of under a pile of brush. Later the older brother returned to his own people.[9]

[9] In Asiguak a similar myth recurs "in which a wandering male finds a group of independent women who have flying boats (flying boats are the symbol of aggressive, actively sexual, non-maternal women) as houses to entomb their victims and who bear them only female children. The men exercise them. They are prisoners in ignorance of the proper order of childbirth (for a male child) so that the first pregnant woman is cut open and shot, after which the men teach them how to bear children properly. He then grabs all the flying boats in their numerous houses and burns them up; only one small flying boat escapes and collects all the birds to avenge the death of the flying boats. The birds attack the men, cut off his penis and drop it among the women, who bury it successfully. Meanwhile, he has begotten enough sons to overthrow the race eventually." (Jakobi, The Mountain Asiguak [I Inupiaq-Eskimo [type], 347-348; see also 358-360.) Not only is the remarkable similarity of these tales enlightening in two distant societies unfavorable, but more striking is the fact that both Asiguak and Kaska society possess unfavorable attitudes to sex which this tale serves to express. In Asiguak the story "expresses the men's fear of the women's independent sexuality which threatens death." In Kaska the tale, among other things, reveals the danger which unconsciously fashioned men perceive in even human sexual interactions.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

159 fifty. I became frightened and yelled to my brother as loud as I could. My brother came back with a gun. He fired and a wolf dropped right behind me. Every one of them fell as my brother fired. That stopped the pack. My mother used to warn us children not to go out at night. She told us if we went out after dark, the last thing people would hear would be our yells when an eagle carried us up in the air.

After a while I went to Ross River to live with my mother's sister and her husband. This was the first year that the trader had started a post on an island in the river. Four years later they moved the post a half-mile to the Pelly River. I remember it was winter and we went there with toboggans, the people dragging it because there were few dogs then. There were many Indians camping at the post. The storeman, Dan, had bunks in the house for the Indians. When we got there we saw many things. That year we stayed at the post for two nights. The storeman promised to raise me when I was ready to live with him.

159 At this time my mother told me many stories. She told me about a woman who could
● 538 never snare any gopher but would come home empty-handed and eat lice. She grew weaker and weaker. Finally, the lice started coming out of her nose. The people thought that she must have swallowed them without chewing and the lice continued to live inside her body. [58] Finally the woman died. When I was small my mother had many lice. People that time could never get rid of them; they didn't even try, but just picked and chewed them. My brother always used to eat marrow with a scissors. He was only five years old. One cold day, the scissors froze against his lower lip. He cried for his mother and they put boiling water on the metal to free it. Later water came out of his lip.

159 Soon I started trapping for the first time. I had about twelve traps, including ten iron traps that Dan gave me. We went to Pelly River and I caught ten martens. We came to Pelly Banks, where there was a small post run by Mr. Mail. Here I bought a .22. I was going to buy a big gun, but my brother told me it would be too heavy. Towards spring my uncle died from a hole in the side of his body through which rotten stuff poured. He thought that, because he had taken away a man's gun, somebody was making bad medicine for him. The man had owed him some money. It was April when he died and we were living in an open camp. They took him to Pelly Banks, where the white people insisted on building a coffin for the body.

In the summer my aunt went to Ross River, remembering Dan's promise to bring me up. Dan took me away from my folks and brought me to his home across the slough. He was going to raise me because he had no son. I was wearing ragged clothes. Dan and another man threw away my clothes. They bathed me and gave me nice things to wear. My aunt cried but I didn't. I was satisfied and figured I was going to live good. The next morning I began to help Dan plant spuds. My mother missed me and I could hear her crying every evening on the island across the slough where many Ross River Indians were living. She was really my aunt, but just the same as my mother. The Indians were living on stove grub and in open camps—just a tarp covering bedding and other stuff. Although my mother had nine sons, two of them married, she still missed me because I had done a lot of work around the [186] camp. She didn't want me to live with the white man because she wanted me to be an Indian, like an old timer. She thought that after she died I would look after my sister [cousin]. She knew I was good hearted and kind.

1: Honigmann E-6 (1943-1945) 1969 MD12 Nahane MD12

The next day, while drunk, Old Man pointed out the fact that he never becomes up- [159
gentle when intoxicated and criticized Louis Mann for drinking hostility. "What's drug 30
easier helps? Why can't he drink?" This remark is incompatible in identification with the ethnographer. When the liquor was depleted he said: "If I was girl I get something easy. Just knock on my door. Should be I drive like old woman and go around." Further passivity is revealed in this manifestation of homosexual tendencies. On August 14, while drunk, there was an overt homosexual approach to Edward Peters. As Old Man leans over the latter he said: "I'm gonna take his worm," and gestured toward the young man's genitals. On August 20, while en route to the winter settlement with the ethnographer, drinking commenced at the Bridge, and Old Man said he preferred to drink with white people who never become aggressive. "I'm ashamed of my own people." He also wanted to be assured that his own behavior under the influence of alcohol was perfect. These tendencies show the growing intensity of a passive homosexual transference to the ethnographer.

In the next few days Old Man several times told, with evident pleasure, how he had [159
shot willow grouse pointed out to him by Elsie Long. There followed a series of dreams 187
expressing hostility and anxiety, all characterized by the speaker receiving support from a stronger person. While these dreams resolved immediate problems arising from Old Man's quarrel with John Keen, they also reflect the general weakening of egocentricity. Independent goals were giving place to dependence. On September 9, when the ethnographer suggested that Louis Mann looked worried, Old Man encouraged with a plea for sympathy, saying: "I worry all the time."

On September 14 (at Old Keen's place) Old Man remarked that perhaps Peter Tom would soon join the people going upriver. Then he said:

> "I dream Peter give me revolver . . . I dream one Caucasian Injun wants to fight me. So we scared. [?] me somebody kill me. Maybe I just worry about gun. So this Peter Tom give me revolver to kill this man. 'No we have trouble till I die.' I say. 'What you want to give me gun for?'"

The reference, "worry about gun," is an immediate association to the previous evening, when Adele Keen, drunk, had threatened to shoot her husband's brother, with whom she had been living. A day or so previously, Old Man had referred to Adele as a British Indian stranger and had declared that all the women of her tribe were adulterous. Asked for associations to the dream, Old Man identified Peter Tom as a hard working youth on whom Louis Mann is very dependent for meat, wood, and general assistance. To interpret the dream, Old Man is again letting somebody handle his aggressive impulses for him, but he is also revealing anxiety at his growing incapacity. He needs somebody like Peter Tom to look on and to hunt for him, somebody with strength and resourcefulness (revolver).

On the same day Old Man repeated a folktale which he had already related to the ethnographer the previous year. In the tale a man's wife cheats her blind husband out of food. [159 531
The old man is befriended by his medicine animal, a loon. The man climbs on the bird's back and is flown across a lake. The bird then dips the old man into the water. When he emerges, the man can see a little better. Once more the bird dives, and this time, upon emerging, the man discovers he can see perfectly. The loon now directs the man to his wife, but warns him

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●158 to avoid trouble. Upon reaching home the man in anger hits his wife. The wife was told after a conversation to which Old Man had explained that his eyes sometimes improve for brief periods. At this point Mrs. Man left the camp, and almost immediately her husband remarried himself of the story. Analysis of the tale suggests Old Man's identification with the passivity of the feeding character. The story expresses the anxiety and hostility engendered by the growing dependence of old age to which egocentricity has largely ceased to function. It also reveals that Old Man resents his growing dependence on his relatively dominant and older wife.

157 When Old Man's sexual sentiments was reached he began to complain of chronic sore throat and cough. Complaints about his sore-throat also became frequent, although they were considerably replaced by uncommon history of Harry Long. Old Man began to talk incessantly about his wife, criticizing her cooking and lack of responsiveness but also praising the good care she took of him. On September 23 he said: "I figure I gonna have every day. Can't get away." This was followed by two dreams in one night.

> "I dream I sat awake with Sam. Louis Man he feeling me dust. We have beer. He say 'Uncle, I know you been sick for long time. That's why I feeling you this.' I start to sit awake with Sam Sam.
>
> "Last night I dream. I dream on Harry. He say: 'You drink all my beer here up.' He cut me all over with a knife. I'm scared . . . After, Harry start to cry. 'I don't like to do that, make you suffer.' 'Oh, I say, maybe beer up anyway.'"

No associations were forthcoming, other than the supposed fact that Harry (who was every hunting) would receive the fact that his father-in-law had taken some home beer. The second dream points directly to anxiety and dependence, with associations heading toward a son-in-law, who will not fulfill his socially expected role. Old Man has nobody on whom to support his failing egocentricity. In the first dream he seems Louis Man and indulges in regressive passive receptive oral behavior reminiscent of infancy, while in the second he steals a drink, another piece of regressive dependent behavior.

An unusual note of lack of customary optimism was struck on October 29, when Old Man left to set a fish net and to swim for awhile. The ethnographer called out: "Good luck!" Old Man replied: "I don't know if I have good luck or not." On November 10 he dreamed that his wife "Have baby. She's sick. Maybe I think she's sick too long. Old woman [Mrs. Man] spirit comes back to baby [reincarnation]. Maybe she [his wife] get better in few days. I dream poor baby cry around. She were mama pretty bad. I tell her she too old for him. That baby come right to bed . . . " Several wishes are symbolized in this dream. Here is again a wish for a child and an expression of sexual inadequacy, followed by a desire for rebirth or rejuvenation. Old Man's bed died a week or so previously but for Old Man the threat of death is now denied. The dream also expresses anxiety over the illness of his wife, on whose emotional support Old Man is undoubtedly dependent. Three days later Old Man spoke of how he had attempted suicide following the death of his earlier wife.

From the end of November dreams reflect Old Man's anxiety concerning the ethnographer's forthcoming return to Lower Post and his trip out of the Canoe. On November 29 Old Man reported: "I get scared last night. I hear dog team coming, lot of noise. Great big bell, too. I wake up. I say: 'Mama, dog team coming. Half past one too!' She told me

89 [illegible] memories of her family. By the time of observation this reminiscing was particularly severe. Her dependence on Lee had been alleviated by the agreement [illegible] formed from prominence with children. When the camps began to be established, she was faced with returning to Lee, whose financial position had worsened and who could no longer [illegible] her dependence with sentimental remarks. She was [illegible] a social conformist contemporaneously with her marriage and identity began to carry a greater share of social disapproval, which made Jews even more [illegible] her family. The hostility released in the Army [illegible] a distrust from the [illegible] produced by her premature alienation.

GIRLS GROUP

Anonymous [illegible] Session

I was born close to Owens Lake. A day and half after I was born, my mother died. So my father gave me to an old lady, Old Mande, who raised me. Many years ago she had come to Owens Lake from the Mohave country. She had had her husband and only one of her children still lived, John Jones. So Mande raised me in Owens Lake country. She was an old woman when she took me and didn't have any milk. When I was put to the breast, I was always hungry and cried all the time. They tried to feed me warm milk in a cup. Then pretty soon milk came to the old lady. God helped her, I guess. I nursed for about three or four years, and after a while she gave me edible beans to eat and fish gave to suck on. That's good for children. When I was about five years old, Mande for the first time bought a can of milk. I never thought about anything. I didn't worry who my father was or what happened to my mother. I thought the old lady was my mother.

Mande treated me well. I played many games. With a bow and arrows I killed rabbits and chicken. Every boy does that. Sometimes I had to fight. Some kids were looking to be fighters and sometimes a boy like that licked me and hurt me. Then I would fight back as even the score. I never was a good fighter though. I can run pretty well, but that's all. When other kids bothered me, I fought them. Some people's kids were worse than others. They would throw rocks, but that's a dangerous thing to do and when the older folks see it, they would become angry and beat those kids.

One, I even cut many pairs of moccasins and pants when I played around as a kid. I couldn't stop playing. I ran around all day. Just the same I was too frightened to go far from camp. I was scared of everything. A rabbit is a scare used to frighten me. Once I was out with mama, when we saw a trapped rabbit. I ran home and got a stick to knock it out. When I saw a stranger coming to the camp, I got scared. I would sit in the camp and never move. Sometimes, when I played around too much, mama would say to stop me. She even beat me. I didn't like to be beaten, it made me scared of mama. A couple of times my daddy came around but I didn't like him. He was too damned greedy. I wanted to be my own boss. My brother, John, is cranky too. He used to get tough with me. I don't like cranky people. Another thing that scared me as a child was to see grown-up people fighting. Sometimes a husband told his wife to do something and she didn't do it. Then, when the man came home, he would fight her. That made me scared. I used to run away. At Owens Lake I once saw a fellow attack his daughter with a knife. Somebody tried to stop him, but they couldn't. The man swung the knife, but he missed the girl. I ran away crying.

89 When I got into trouble Mande would frighten me to make me sit down and stop play-

[illegible]

[illegible]

The extension of kinship terminology to group Ta and Tcila opposite a difference between Dease River and Upper Liard River kinship usage that may indicate longer matrilineal residence and matrilineal descent in the former area.[1]

Clear evidence of joking between grandparents and grandchildren could not be obtained for the Kaogwaina. The informant, himself an elderly man, stressed the great power exercised as educative and disciplinary role over grandchildren. A boy avoided his real or classificatory sisters after he as well as they had reached puberty. Prior to this time they played together freely. A man continued to use necklaces and other clothing for his brother as long as he remained in his parents' household. Following marriage she exchanged gifts with her brother's wife. Two Dease River informants mentioned ambivalent reactions to speak of cross-cousin marriage but symmetrical cross-cousin marriage was finally admitted, together with the fact that these relatives remained on terms of easy familiarity even if they did not wed. A man's mother-in-law demanded respect and avoidance of undue intimacy. However the pair of relatives were permitted to engage in customary conversation and could freely eat together. A man-in-law was expected to "feed" his father-in-law, especially when the latter became too old to hunt. A man joked freely with his wife's sister and brother's wife. The treatment of orphans and, perhaps, the fortunes of those unhappy children are reflected in "The Story of the Water Man" related by Tsai.[2] In this tale two orphaned boy who had been harshly treated succeeds in doing what nobody else had managed to achieve, breaking the Water Man's power. The youth shows his uncle to gain credit for the feat. Eventually the uncle is killed, whereupon the boy overcomes Water Man, is made "chief" by the people, and takes his uncle's sister-wife as his own. He refuses to have anything to do with her younger co-wife. Psychoanalytically minded readers will readily discern the Oedipus situation in this folktale.

Friendship patterns remain to be discussed. Two men might informally institute a close friendship, in which they would hunt and travel together. They addressed each other *nedi'wa* ("just like one"), undoubtedly a cognate of the husband term.

Kaska Kwe. Although informants showed no readiness to classify the Kaska (Muddy) people apart from the Dease River Indians, a number of differences in kin terminology between the two areas suggest that we isolate the former region at this point for special consideration. The differences are particularly interesting because they reflect a social structure which has not fully assimilated matrilineal, exogamous moiety organization. Such an interpretation coincides with the fact that the Muddy River is relatively peripheral to the area of intensive coastmoiety organization, the Northwest Coast. The kin terms collected from Mark Margaret, our Muddy River informant, follow.

[1] Murdock, *Social Structure* (1949), 146.
[2] Teit, *Kaska Tales* (1917), 469-481.

Upper Lake

[illegible encouraged wars or feuds. He urged the followers to moderate powerful objections and reprimanded the boy, who, good reason for a theoretically non-productive wars appointed a feast on the capacity of others." The chief did not show up to provide what questions of the band but could expel a person for certain crimes. They also might express disagreement with the headman although he would be urged to "resign" his duties. The informant appeared to recognize the description of a council and described such meetings at which alternatives received an important hunting place or as an outbreak of [illegible] aggression. War and [illegible] such deliberations but women were said to speak.

The Indians on the upper Lake Erie were divided into two exogamous matrilineal societies, the Wolf and Crane. Slightly greater prestige appears to have attached to the Wolf section. According to one old man (R), who had come to the Canadas as a boy from Sandusky country, the Eastern Ojibwa during [illegible] gave to the time when Ojibwa Indians possessed the area. When the latter encountered a Eastern Indian they said, "You're a Wolf" or "You're a Crane," thus classifying the population. In [illegible] the Eastern did not understand each [illegible]. Eventually they adopted the dual division of the Ojibwa.* A myth gives a more exotic account of the origin of society organization. The tale has been reported for the Sally River Ojibwa by Frank Field and was known to one chief informant (G). The man previously referred to (R), who came from the east, did not know the account. Following is the condensed rendering of the tale taken from Field's manuscript.†

The animals were the first people and the enemies of all the animals and the others were the wolves and crows, the last two the wolverine. All the animals could talk and understand each other and [illegible] are. The wolves and crows intermarried and their children were Indians. They called the wolverine their brother-in-law and were very friendly with him.

The wolves and crows told a meeting and made a law that they would not marry any other animal, but a wolf man to marry a crow and a crow a wolf. The children would take their name from the mother, and their mother would own the country. Slaves and brothers, after they became of age, should not speak or play with each other. When a wolf died the other wolves should make a big feast for the crows to eat and would feel the crows grieved but would eat nothing themselves. When a crows died he was to do the same for the wolves and so the world was started.

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* Hallowell's figures, which show that in hunting bands one male bounce supports about three persons including himself, appear to be borne out when other groups are considered. Hallowell, *Size of Algonkian Hunting Territories: Function of Ecological Adjustment* (1949); Montgomery, *International Relations of Great Plains Area*, *J. Q.* (1952), 64.

† The question of the relationship of dual organization among the Eastern to the social organization of the Tlingit has still to be settled. Although social organization was more completely developed on the Northwest Coast, the basic feature of society organization is similar between the two regions. Tlingit moieties, which were matrilineal and exogamous, are designated Raven (sometimes Eagle) and Wolf. The Eastern Ojibwa myth given above (see p. 61) suggests that certain animals were considered closely "related." Thus the wolverine, fox, and black bear "belonged" to the crow; the grizzly bear and lynx were allied to the wolf. Swanton's evidence suggests a similar identification of grizzly bear with wolf among the Tlingit while Krause includes the (black?) bear here too. See Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 396, 414–417, 433–435; Krause, *Tlingit Indians* (1885), 111, 133; Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* (1914), 35, 44, 170–171.

‡ Field, *Unpublished manuscript* (1913), 10–11.